1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

existence of reefs around the islands made it necessary that all fishing on a large scale should be deep sea fishing, rather than shallow water fishing such as was practiced in the Tuamotus, Tahiti, and Hawaii. Indeed, one who has become acquainted with the ruggedness, the stupendous rock structure and the unprotected coasts of these islands cannot help feeling that much that distinguishes the natives of the Marquesas and their culture from the peoples and cultures of other groups in Polynesia—the square solidity of the men, certain characteristics of hardness and aggressiveness in their natures which contrast strikingly with the softness of other Polynesians, the quantity and massiveness of their stone construction, their heavy, square featured images, and their strong, bold arts of wood carving and tattooing—is a direct result of the nature of the islands in which they lived. The environment is massive, strong, and vigorous: the people and their culture are to be characterized by the same terms.

SETTLEMENT

Six of the islands of the group were, and still are inhabited regularly: Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa, Ua Pou, Ua Huka, and Nuku Hiva. Three others, smaller islands, were visited and possibly inhabited at times: Moho Tani, Fatu Uku, and Ei Ao. These will be discussed briefly after the description of the larger inhabited islands. It is certain that the six regularly inhabited islands were thickly populated. The proof of this lies in the fact that house platforms are to be found even in the most unadvantageous regions, both on the coast and inland, wherever conditions of soil and rainfall were such that food could be grown. Any attempt at determining the number of inhabitants at the time of discovery is necessarily based on guesswork. I believe that one may say with certainty, however, that the density of the population in the Marquesas was equal to the maximum that could be supported by agricultural and fishing industries of the primitive order practiced by the natives. In other words, the natives had lived in their islands long enough to populate them fully. Density of population, however, never brought about any development of intensive agriculture. Estimates made by early voyagers vary greatly, and, being all theoretical, seem scarcely worth giving here. Quiros (25, pp. 19, 26), who discovered the three southern islands in 1595, testifies to the density of population at that time. Judging from the estimates of early writers and their descriptions of the numbers of people seen in the various valleys which they visited, from personal acquaintanceship with the country at the present time, and some knowledge of the number and distribution of the house sites, it may be said with a fair amount of certainty that the population was certainly not under fifty thousand, and not over one

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Even at the time Stewart was writing, however, it is not probable that Te-moana had any authority over the northern coast of Nuku Hiva, although he was probably allied with Pua, A'a Kapa and Haume.

The fact that the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti, on Ua Pou, fled to Tai o Hae as a refuge during war, indicates that they were on more friendly terms with the Te-i'i than with the Tai-oa of Haka Ui Bay, which is nearer and more easily reached from northwest Ua Pou.

Uninhabited Islands

Ei Ao was certainly visited at times, but whether it was ever settled by a permanently established population is unknown. Mr. Linton found the evidences of an extensive adze-making industry, many house platforms, and temple sites. Two residents of Nuku Hiva, who had stayed on Ei Ao have described to me platforms on which there were stone and wooden images. Mr. Linton was told that the bodies of deceased Nuku Hiva chiefs were carried to Ei Ao. Christian (5, p. 204) records that this island was formerly inhabited by people called Tua.netaki.

Fatu-uku was certainly never inhabited. It is a small, high, flat land mass, the top of which is very difficult of access. The top is said to have much coral on it and there is also coral around the island. The story of Tana-oa explains the presence of coral on top as due to the fact that the island was turned upside down, what is now the top having been formerly the base resting in the sea. Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, who has visited this island, saw on top a number of small, well-built platforms. The island was sacred to Tana-oa, the patron of fishermen.

Pua Ma'u fishing expeditions used to visit Fatu Uku to make offerings on his altars. It is said also that the island used to be visited to obtain bird bones and feathers.

Moho Tani[3] has no fresh water on it and was probably never permanently settled. There are house platforms. It is said to have been a fishing district belonging to the Ha'a Mau region of Hiva Oa. Christian was told that it was formerly inhabited by people called Moi-a-tiu (5, p. 205).

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[3]A large number of names of localities, names of tribes and subtribes, of sacred places, tapus, local deities, and so on, were obtained. About half of these came into my hands through manuscripts generously lent by the Catholic fathers in the Marquesas, who allowed me to study these writings of former workers in their mission. The rest were obtained from native informants. These data will be published in a separate report.

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883 as those for tattooing, those in honor of young chiefs and of the dead, were celebrated, it was during these seasons that the *ka'ioi* were most active and most in evidence.

In the story of Tana-oa that is told on Hiva Oa, there is a very interesting indication that at one time there may have been a young men's house in which the male *ka'ioi* lived; or perhaps this incident is a reminiscence of the existence of such an institution in some region of former occupation; or perhaps merely a description of a tattooing house. In the story the young unmarried men, *ka'ioi*, are described as living together in a great house, as cooking for themselves, as amusing themselves, decorating themselves with *ena*, playing flutes and so on. I could find no knowledge [71] on the part of modern natives of the existence at any time of such an institution as a young men's house; but the existence of this institution in Indonesia makes this bit of evidence from the story of Tana-oa significant.

Hoki, troupes of singers and dancers that went on tours about neighboring valleys and islands, were undoubtedly made up for the most part of *ka'ioi*, but they seem to have constituted actually a separate institution and one that deserves to be discussed rather under songs and dances than in connection with social institutions. (See Music.)

COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

621 The movement of life within the tribe will be described in detail in subsequent sections devoted to communal activity in work, war, and festivals, family and domestic life, and to the part played by the individual and his relationship to others. The truest picture of community life of a tribe in the Marquesas is gained by regarding that life as merely an enlarged replica of the domestic life: the chief stood in the position of father of his tribe; his establishment represented merely an elaboration of the private establishment of every family; the festivals and rites, which were performed on the tribal public place before his house, were more elaborate, but for the same purposes, and performed in the same way as the more modest feasts that took place before the house of less prominent families; the comunal activity of the tribe, which was directed by the chief, was merely an elaboration of the domestic activity of the family, whether it was the building of a canoe, fishing, the erection of stone structures or less permanent buildings, or the preparation for feasts and for the celebration of amusements and rites.

Before leaving this discussion of the tribe a brief picture should be given of the community of structures and places, private and public. [361] Dwellings were not concentrated in villages but scattered throughout the length of the valley, or, in a few bays, along the shore. There seems to have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

general arrangement is accurate. To illustrate this type of agriculture in the Marquesas this map may serve as well as one more carefully made. The map is self-explanatory. The walls are simply but carefully built of stream boulders and unworn angular stones. Rising perpendicularly above the stream is a large block of red volcanic stone, (*A*) on the face of which, on the stream side, are the remains of carved designs of some kind. On top of this are the remains of a small house platform. The other house platforms shown were evidently the sites of houses that

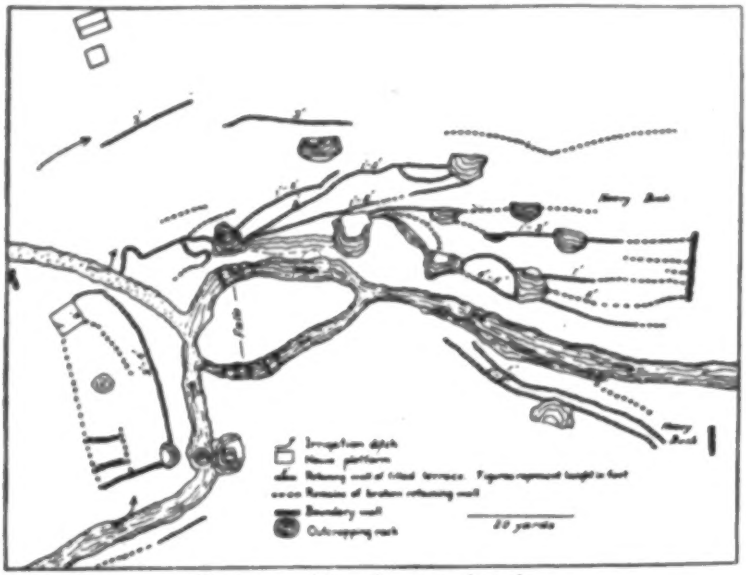

FIGURE 20.—Plan of a taro plantation.

overlooked the plantations. In the stream is a low rock of basalt, (*B*) the top of which has in it eighteen grooves made by sharpening adzes. There are many trees on the terraces, but only one, an old banyan, appears old enough to have been there before French occupation. The granddaughter of the former owner and worker of one of these plantations, told me that her grandfather was the last who had raised taro here.

All along the stream in this valley, both above and below the point at which this map was made, the remains of terrace walls are to be seen. Toward the sea where the land is more level there are several broad plantations, the low terraces of which run at right angles to the shore line. Figure 21 is a sketch made from a photograph of a stone-enclosed ditch for carrying water from the stream to a plantation.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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some of them married. But the soldiers complained of this, and seeing their ill-will he gave up the idea.

It may be held as certain that two hundred natives were killed in these islands, for the impious and inconsiderate soldiers dropped one or two or three. Their evil deeds are not things to do, nor to praise, nor to allow, nor to maintain, nor to refrain from punishing if the occasion permits.

CHAPTER VII.

In which an account is given of the port, island, and inhabitants; of their customs, and other things.

THIS island of Santa Cristina is very populous, and lofty in the centre. It has its ravines and valleys, where the natives live. The port was named "Madre de Dios." Praise to her! It is in the western part, in latitude 9° 30′, sheltered from all winds, only excepting the west, which never was found to blow. Its shape is that of a horse-shoe, with a narrow mouth, and at the entrance it has a clear bottom of sand, with a depth of 30 fathoms, in the middle 24, and 12 near the beach. The marks by which it is known are a hill to the south, rising from the sea, having a peak terminating in three others on its summit; to the north a concave rock; within the port five wooded ravines, all coming down to the sea, and a hill which divides the little beaches of sand, having a stream of excellent water falling from a height of a man's stature and a half, the thickness of a fist, where the barrels can be filled. Near it there is a stream of equally good water, flowing near a village which the natives have there. So that waterfall, [361] stream, and village are all on the shore, which is on the north side of the hill. On the south side of it there are houses scattered among the trees, To the east there are

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream descends.

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a square, one north and south, the other east to west, with the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space.

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts downwards.

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took.

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[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.

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female kinesic habits. A transvestite is known as mahu'o hiva, 838
"homosexual of the ridge pole," referring to his abiding around the house in the performance of female chores.

Pederasty and mutual masturbation are common among normal male adolescents. Isolated male groups will often become so stimulated by their sexual talk and horseplay that these practices will be indulged. In pederasty, as in masturbation, the penis is moistened with saliva before introduction. The act of pederasty generally involves some discomfort for the subordinate of the pair, but it is generally a reciprocal practice; therefore, the discomfort is considered worth the sexual satisfaction obtained when the dominant role is assumed.

Masturbation contests are quite common in adolescence, as at earlier age levels. [839] [883]

Fellatio is apparently uncommon in "normal" male homosexual behavior, but is considered characteristic of the behavior of the mahu or homosexual deviate.

There are still a number of valleys on the major islands of the archipelago, in which the population is quite small and the females available as sexual partners are either few or completely absent. If adolescent boys are present in these valleys, they must either travel to other valleys at night to find girls, which may be difficult and dangerous; or, they must indulge in homosexual relations. Ho'dumi, one such valley that I visited on Nuku Hiva, had a population of 35 people. /54/ There were five or six adolescent boys and two unmarried girls who were sisters to two of the boys. The two girls were carefully supervised by their parents, and contacts were nearly impossible for the boys. The boys had formed a loose group for work and recreation which also served as the center for homosexual activities. During the period in which we conducted excavations in the valley, we had excellent opportunities to observe this group. They generally retired to the interior of the heavily overgrown valley for homosexual activities in the afternoon. Their activities were well-known to the workmen, who often chided them asking who had played the girl's role that day and if the person who did did not have a sore anus.

838 883 [361] [162] [162] [123] [522]